

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, March 11, 1991

The House met at 12 noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our hearts are made glad, O God, by the return of those held in captivity and we share with the families their joy and their happiness. We are grateful that other members of the armed services will return soon and be reunited with those they love.

We specially remember those who have given their lives and whose families experience the loss and anguish of this difficult time. We earnestly pray that Your comforting grace and Your abiding promises will give hope and peace to all who mourn.

Bless all Your people this day, gracious God, and may Your spirit be with us and remain with us always. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS] come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. RIGGS led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

## ANTICRIME LEGISLATION

(Mr. MAZZOLI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, from this Chamber a week ago the President challenged Congress to pass an anticrime package within the next 100 days. While I certainly do not think we should be slavishly attached to the 100-day limit, I do think that Congress needs to address the issue of crime in an expeditious way.

The President just today in the Rose Garden announced his crime package. It has some good things in it. It does enhance the penalties for those who misuse handguns in the course of committing a criminal act. It does require us to examine again the exclusionary

rule and the habeas corpus rule, both of which have at times been difficult to deal with in the sense of controlling crime.

But there are two glaring omissions in the crime package, Mr. Speaker, which I hope this House and the Congress can correct. One is the President does not speak to the Brady bill, the national 7-day waiting period before a handgun can be purchased, and it does not deal with the question of a ban on assault weapons.

I believe we are on the right track toward crime reform, Mr. Speaker, but we need to fill those two omissions. We need to have the Brady bill and we need to have a ban on assault weapons added to it.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to clause 4 of rule I, the Speaker signed the following enrolled joint resolution on Friday, March 8, 1991:

H.J. Res. 98. Joint resolution designating March 4 through 10, 1991, as "National School Breakfast Week."

## RESIGNATION FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation from the House of Representatives:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, March 8, 1991.

Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,  
Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The Senate confirmed my nomination as Secretary of Agriculture on March 7, 1991. Therefore, I am formally advising you, by this letter, of my resignation from the U.S. House of Representatives at 3:00 p.m. on Friday, March 8, 1991.

I have designated Mark Dungan as the staff member responsible for the management of this office until a new Member is elected. Should you need any further information from me, or assistance from my staff, please do not hesitate to contact us.

This is a bittersweet time for me. I have spent a good portion of my life representing the citizens of Illinois, first as a member of the Illinois State Legislature for six years, then as a Member of Congress for eighteen years. It has been an honor to have served in this House. I want to thank the people of Illinois for placing their trust in me. I hoped I have served them well.

Sincerely,

EDWARD MADIGAN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, March 8, 1991.

Hon. JIM EDGAR,  
Governor, State Capitol, Springfield, IL.

DEAR GOVERNOR: The Senate confirmed my nomination as Secretary of Agriculture on March 7, 1991. Therefore, I am formally advising you, by this letter, of my resignation from the U.S. House of Representatives at 3:00 p.m. on Friday, March 8, 1991.

The constituents of the 15th Congressional District will continue to be served by the Office of the Clerk of the House until such time as a new member is elected. Several members of my current staff will remain to provide for a smooth transition, and I have designated Mark Dungan as the staff member responsible for the management of this office during that time.

Should you need any further information from me, or assistance from my staff, please do not hesitate to contact us.

This is a bittersweet time for me. I have spent a good portion of my life representing the citizens of Illinois, first as a member of the Illinois State Legislature for six years, then as a Member of Congress for eighteen years. It has been an honor, and I want to thank the people of Illinois for placing their trust in me. I hoped I have served them well.

Over the years, I have had the opportunity to work with and represent some of the finest people in the nation. It has been a privilege.

Sincerely,

EDWARD MADIGAN.

## RESIGNATION AS MEMBER OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following resignation as a member of the Select Committee on Aging:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC.

Hon. THOMAS FOLEY,  
Speaker of the House, the Capitol, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I hereby submit my resignation from the House Select Committee on Aging.

With best regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JIM LIGHTFOOT,  
Member of Congress.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the resignation is accepted.

There was no objection.

## ELECTION AS MEMBER OF COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 109) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

H. RES. 109

Resolved, That Representative Upton of Michigan be and he is hereby elected to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### THE RELIEF FOR OLDER WORKERS ACT OF 1991

(Mr. DARDEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DARDEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce the Relief for Older Workers Act of 1991 as I did in the 101st Congress. This measure would enable our senior citizens to continue working without fear of jeopardizing their hard-won benefits, and, in turn, would allow America to continue to profit from the talent and expertise of a class of workers that has made our Nation great. Mr. Speaker, I am asking that Congress repeal the earnings limitation on Social Security recipients.

I don't think I need to tell this body that today's senior citizens are not the infirm elderly of decades past. They are healthier and more vigorous than even before. They deserve the right to continue working if they so choose—and that choice should not be denied them by a law which should have been repealed long ago.

While the Social Security System has provided most senior citizens with a secure financial base, Social Security benefits are often inadequate as a sole source of income. Many Americans eligible to receive Social Security benefits must therefore continue to work. Unfortunately, when they do so, our Government penalizes them for seeking to remain productive members of society.

I am not calling for a drastic revision of the Social Security System. Rather, my bill would provide for a minor modification of the Social Security System that would, I believe, have a major effect on many people's lives by allowing them to continue to pursue their livelihood.

The earnings limitation that I seek to repeal discourages senior citizens from working to supplement their Social Security income. As many of you may know, in 1991, Social Security recipients under age 65 may not earn more than \$7,080 without losing their right to full benefits. For every \$2 earned above that amount, they lose \$1 in benefits. This penalty may result in a marginal tax rate approaching 100 percent in some cases. Workers aged 65-69 may not earn more than \$9,720 per year without losing \$1 in benefits for every \$3 in outside income. Only workers above age 69 are not subjected to a limitation on outside earnings.

Some have argued that a repeal of the earnings limitation will result in

the Government losing money. There is much evidence to the contrary. Several extensive studies have concluded that, if the earnings test were repealed, more revenue will be raised from the additional taxes collected from older workers than would be paid out in benefits. Certainly, a repeal of the earnings test limitation will save taxpayers a significant amount of money currently spent in administering the complex and costly test. This measure will in no way endanger the financial stability of the Social Security System.

Mr. Speaker, the time to repeal the earnings limitation is long overdue. We must show our willingness to change the Social Security System to conform to the needs of today's senior citizens. I hope my colleagues will join me in ensuring that older workers will not be forced to choose between working and receiving the benefits they deserve. I hope my colleagues will join me in voting to repeal the earnings limitation.

#### FDIC'S RECAPITALIZATION PLAN COMES UP SHORT

(Mr. ANNUNZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the resources of the bank insurance fund are dwindling, and the FDIC's response to this crisis leaves taxpayers holding the bag.

Last Thursday, the FDIC released its proposal for recapitalizing the bank insurance fund. Surprisingly, the FDIC doesn't recommend raising additional funds from the banking industry to replenish the bank fund, which could face insolvency as soon as this September.

Instead, the FDIC proposes to borrow \$25 billion to meet its spending needs, which banks would be expected to repay sometime in the future. This plan gravely concerns me.

First, under the FDIC plan, the bank insurance fund's liabilities would exceed its assets. I believe that to permit an insurance fund to operate with a negative net worth would be detrimental to depositor confidence.

More importantly, the plan assumed that the banks will be able to repay the FDIC's borrowings. But, what happens if the banking industry continues to falter and this assumption proves to be incorrect? Then the credit risk of recapitalizing FDIC through borrowings will have shifted from the banks to the American taxpayers.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot risk another taxpayer bailout. The banks must recapitalize their insurance fund, and they must do it now.

#### CAPITAL GAINS TAX REDUCTION

(Mr. RIGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I just returned to Washington from a weekend trip home to my district in northern California. I am hearing loud and clear from my constituents in Sonoma County and in Del Norte on the northern tip of California that they are concerned regarding the rising Federal budget deficit, the rising Federal spending and the fact that taxes are back where they were before the Reagan tax cuts. I was asked, not by wealthy individuals, but by middle class working individuals what is Congress doing to give us some tax relief. Specifically, people want to know what is the status of the capital gains tax reduction proposal, and I had to tell them that unfortunately, that proposal, which would stimulate investment, create new jobs, stimulate savings and give average working Americans incentives to save, invest and create jobs, was dead on arrival in this House.

□ 1210

The President made a proposal in the State of the Union Address, and he simply said that reasonable people can disagree; there is a difference of opinion between experts as to whether or not capital gains tax reduction would increase or decrease revenues to the Federal Treasury in the long run. But his proposal was to study that and to come back to Congress and the administration with a recommendation and report, a decisive report, as to the impact on revenues of capital gains.

Let us get on with that study. Let us put together that group under the capable leadership of Chairman Greenspan, and let us see if we cannot, as reasonable people, agree to in good faith at least consider capital gains tax reduction relief for the middle-class Americans.

#### COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS) laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, March 11, 1991.

Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,  
The Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 5 of Rule III of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit a sealed envelope received from the White House at 4:20 p.m. on Friday, March 8, 1991, and said to contain a message from the President whereby he transmits a notice of his intention to terminate, in whole or in part, no sooner than 15 days after the date of this notice, the sanctions imposed with respect to Kuwait.

With great respect, I am,

Sincerely yours,

DONALD K. ANDERSON,  
Clerk, House of Representatives.



**TERMINATING SANCTIONS, IN WHOLE OR IN PART, WITH RESPECT TO KUWAIT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, without objection, referred to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I hereby provide notice, consistent with section 586C(c)(2) of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 101-513), of my intention to terminate, in whole or in part, no sooner than 15 days after the date of this notice, the sanctions imposed with respect to Kuwait pursuant to Executive Orders Nos. 12723 and 12725.

GEORGE BUSH.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 8, 1991.

**ORDER OF BUSINESS**

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my special order precede the special order of the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS].

Mr. Speaker, I have talked with the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS] about this request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

**CONGRESS NEEDS A GO-SLOW APPROACH ON RESOLUTION TRUST CORPORATION FUNDING**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the House will vote on legislation to provide the Resolution Trust Corporation [RTC] with \$30 billion. Under the procedure which this legislation is being considered, the House will not only decide whether or not to provide the \$30 billion, but under what circumstance it will be provided and the method that will be used to raise the funds.

First and foremost, Mr. Speaker, it must be remembered that the \$30 billion being requested tomorrow is not a lifetime funding for the RTC, nor is it even a 2 or 1 year funding request, but rather, it is an amount to carry the agency through September of this year, barely more than 6 months from now. Nor is this the first time that the RTC has been given billions of dollars. When the RTC was first created, less than 2 years ago, it was given an initial funding of \$50 billion. Along with direct and indirect funding, the RTC up until now,

has been provided with some \$100 billion. No other agency in the history of this country has ever been given so much money so quickly.

The \$30 billion that will be voted on tomorrow represents a compromise between the Congress and the administration. The administration wanted a blank check appropriation so that it would never have to come back to Congress for new authorizations. Very few in the Congress supported such a concept. Many members felt that the RTC should justify its spending requests and that the requests should be made for shorter periods of time rather than for longer ones.

I am glad to see that Members of this body are expressing deep concern about the operations of the Resolution Trust Corporation. I am glad that Members have insisted on complete hearings on the RTC funding requests and that Members are demanding to know where the RTC funding will come from and how it will be used.

I have the same concerns, Mr. Speaker, and in fact, I have had those concerns since the day the RTC was established. My concerns about the RTC and its operations were so deep that as chairman of the Financial Institutions Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, I appointed a task force headed by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO] to monitor the activities of the RTC. I felt that that agency had to be watched closely because of its huge budget and the potential for abuse. I have not been impressed with the results produced by the RTC. Virtually every Member of this body has received complaints from their constituents about the actions of the RTC. Such complaints include lack of responses to letters to the agencies, questionable awards of contracts, and numerous other complaints. Of all the speakers you will hear tomorrow, not one will stand before this body and give unqualified praise to the job being done by the RTC. Most will say "I know the agency is not doing a perfect job, but we still have to give it the money." Other speakers will be even less flattering while still supporting the funding requests.

On the final day in late October of the 101st Congress, as this body neared adjournment, an attempt was made to bring a \$10 billion funding request to the floor of this House. It was to be considered under a procedure that would have granted a special rule to the funding request that had not been available to any bill before the House in the closing hours of the session. When this request was brought before the House, it was nearly 3:30 a.m., and many Members, under the belief that there would be no further legislative action that day, had left Washington to return to their districts.

When that unusual funding request was brought before this body, I ob-

jected to the procedure and the funding request was killed.

Many in the media condemned my action claiming it would cause a problem in the operation of the RTC. Not one news account reported the fact that the \$10 billion request was being made under a highly unusual set of legislative circumstances and would probably not have been subject to a recorded vote. Nor did any of the news accounts address the fact that the RTC had more than 140 billion dollars' worth of assets that it could have sold rather than seek additional funding from the taxpayers.

While the news media may have been unhappy with my actions of the final night of the Congress, I can assure you that my constituents were not. I received nothing but praise from the people in my district because I had forced a full and complete discussion of the RTC and its funding. My voters did not want to hand RTC \$10 billion or even \$10 of taxpayers money without knowing where the money was coming from and how it was going to be spent. My constituents wanted a full and complete discussion of the RTC and its funding request. The voters in my district both Republican and Democrat, gave such overwhelming approval to my actions in blocking the \$10 billion RTC giveaway, that my opponent never raised the question in the closing days of the campaign. Since the final day of the Congress, many members have written to me and spoken to me to congratulate me for my actions on that final night. They found that when they went back to their districts, that their voters too, felt that RTC funding should not be rushed through in the dark of night. Following my actions on the final night of the 101st Congress, there were predictions that the RTC would suffer serious consequences because of the lack of funding and that many savings and loans, which needed to be shutdown, would not be shutdown because there were no funds to close the institutions. But just as I predicted on that final evening, nothing bad happened. The RTC was able to continue its operations and every savings and loan that needed to be shutdown was. The RTC found it had additional funds to conduct its operations and it used those funds rather than asking the taxpayers for another handout.

Today we are being told that unless we provide RTC with \$30 billion, that the agency will not be able to perform its job and that, once again, sick S&L's will not be closed. If you believe that, then you must also believe Saddam Hussein and Iraq won the Persian Gulf war. RTC does not need additional funding. It has more than \$140 billion in assets, and it has become the largest financial institution in the world. I have suggested that before the agency asks Congress for any more taxpayers money, that it first sell a bulk of its

assets. Some Members of Congress have expressed a concern that in selling these assets, it would dump thousands of real estate properties on an already depressed market. Let me point out of its entire portfolio, only 12 percent is made up of real estate. The agency has more than \$40 billion in cash, performing loans and marketable securities, yet it refused to sell those assets.

Instead of selling its assets, which was the exact job for which the agency was created, the RTC is asking the taxpayers to give it \$30 billion more. And will that be the last request? Hardly. In September, it is estimated that RTC will ask Congress for an additional \$50 billion and next year, the request may well be \$100 billion or more. Who knows when the requests for taxpayers funds will end. And who knows exactly how much will be needed. Time after time officials from the RTC have testified before Congress and refused to estimate how much money will ultimately be needed to clean up the S&L mess. It may well be that no one knows how deep the black hole is, but wouldn't it be better to sell the assets from failed S&L's before seeking any additional taxpayers funds.

In recent days, a formula has been used on this floor to breakdown the cost of various funding bills to show how much they will cost the taxpayers. It has been estimated that for every \$1 million of spending, every taxpayer in America will be required to pay 1.1 cents in additional tax money. Certainly, 1.1 cents does not sound like a lot of money and although \$30 billion does not sound like a lot of money, it is very difficult to imagine what \$30 billion looks like. But let me put it into terms that are understandable. The \$30 billion that is being requested tomorrow, will require every taxpayer in America to come up with an additional \$330 in extra taxes to pay for the money. That's \$330 on top of all the taxes that American taxpayers currently pay. And as I pointed out, just a few minutes earlier, the RTC already has nearly \$100 billion either directly or indirectly in taxpayers funds, and in the coming months, will be seeking even more money.

I would suggest to members as they contemplate their votes on this legislation, to ask themselves whether their taxpayers want to hand out another \$330 to an agency that is already filled to the brim with assets that could be sold. Perhaps your constituents are so well off that they can afford to hand over \$330, but I assure you, that my constituents want more answers.

Tomorrow you will hear that unless we take this action and provide RTC with \$30 billion in new funding, that the agency will have to allow sick S&L's to say open and that ultimately, when these institutions are closed, it will cost the taxpayers even more money. You will be told that every

day, the S&L's are not closed, it costs an additional \$8 million. Such figures are about as reliable as the Iraq Army. I don't know how these figures were obtained. They certainly could not have come from the Resolution Trust Corporation which has, according to GAO, no ability to assemble such information. In fact, the RTC can't even tell you the most basic financial information that any corporation would need in order to run a business. This lack of information is the reason why the General Accounting Office cannot conduct an audit of the RTC. A few weeks ago, the GAO testified before the House Banking Committee about the operations of the RTC, and the report was not very complimentary. In fact, the RTC has so little information, that it has not filed an audited financial statement for any year of its operation. If the RTC was private business, it would have been subject to severe fines by the Securities and Exchange Commission, and might well have been shutdown for this serious lack of auditing.

I have tried for months to find out from the RTC how much it costs the agency to hold on to its assets. In short, I wanted to find out if perhaps the agency was spending more money to hold on to a piece of property than the property was worth. For example, how much does the RTC pay on local real estate taxes on its real estate portfolio? How much does the agency spend in maintenance costs, securities services, and how much is the agency losing in property devaluation? For months I tried to get a reply and finally the agency admitted that it did not have any information to answer my request, except in the most general of terms.

The GAO even suggested that in some cases, it may be cheaper for the RTC to bulldoze down a property than trying to hold on to it. But the GAO said it could not determine which would be cheaper because the RTC did not have enough information about the properties in its portfolio.

Mr. Speaker, at some point in time, the RTC is going to explode into one of the biggest scandals in the history of this country. Every day I receive letters or news stories pointing out potentially dangerous situations in the RTC. The agency has nearly 6,000 employees and according to one source, only 1 out of every 6 people is engaged in selling assets. Can you imagine any other business in this country whose function is to sell that has so few people engaged in sales. Where is it going to end? When will we stop throwing money at an agency that refuses to do its job? I predict that when the RTC does explode in scandal, that those members of the media who are now calling for Congress to hand over the taxpayers money without any questions, will be the first to criticize Congress for not going slow in RTC fund-

ing. Where was Congress during all this time, the media will ask, but will not look back and remember those who tried to get to the bottom of the problem.

There has been a great deal of commentary around the fact that the House Banking Committee has engaged in extended debate over the RTC funding. Much has been made of the fact that the committee spent 10 hours marking up an RTC funding bill which it ultimately defeated. There are those who criticized the Banking Committee for its extended discussions, debates, and votes. But rather than criticize the Banking Committee and its members, that committee should be applauded, because it has spotlighted one of the most serious concerns facing the taxpayers today. If we are to give the RTC \$30 billion tomorrow, I would rather err on the side of too much discussion than not enough discussion. I would hope that any time a committee of this Congress proposes a funding bill of the magnitude that will be voted on tomorrow, that there will be extended debate, that there will be controversy, that there will be alternative legislative suggestions, and more importantly, that it will be a tough vote for Members.

The taxpayers have benefited and hopefully, the RTC has benefited, by the actions of the Banking Committee. It has brought to the public's attention a serious concern and it has made Members of this House aware of an important problem.

The deep concerns expressed not only in this body, but in the Senate, about RTC funding and the operations of that agency, makes me even prouder today of my actions on the last night of the 101st Congress when I stood and blocked a \$10 billion taxpayer giveaway to the RTC in the dead of the night. The light is starting to shine on the activities of the RTC and taxpayers are starting to get a look at how this agency operates. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that never again, will that light be turned out in an attempt to sneak through billions of dollars of funding for an agency that is not doing its job.

□ 1230

RECOGNITION OF CORNERSTONE LAYING FOR BASF BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH DIVISION WORLD HEADQUARTERS IN WORCESTER, MA

(Mr. EARLY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EARLY. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress a most happy event. We are all aware of the very difficult and trying economic times which currently face our Nation. Far too



often we hear or read about more layoffs and increased unemployment, and the tragic hardships which follow such events. Many people in the Northeast and thousands of residents of Massachusetts are experiencing the very real recession which is upon us. It is therefore a great pleasure to share some very significant and positive economic news about a major new employer coming to Massachusetts.

On Monday, March 11, 1991, BASF Corporation placed the cornerstone which marked the commencement of the construction of the new world headquarters for BASF's Biomedical Research Division in Worcester, MA. This new facility, the largest biotech research facility in the Northern Hemisphere, will provide countless construction jobs over a 2½-year period, followed by long-term employment opportunities for more than 1,000 people. In addition, both the construction phase and the subsequent operations of this large facility will mean millions and millions of dollars of purchases of other goods and services from a wide range of suppliers in the central Massachusetts area.

I note another substantial and positive aspect of BASF's decision to locate its biotechnological world headquarters in central Massachusetts. BASF will be spending millions of dollars and countless man-hours in research aimed at finding cures for cancer and diseases of the immune system. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is known throughout the world as a leader in research relating to a wide range of health related issues. BASF's decision will mean the influx of still more research expertise, which will further build upon the partnership of education, the private sector and Government which is needed to deal with our most pressing health care issues. That decision will surely contribute towards the goal of productive research, with the result that all of mankind can look forward to a better standard of living.

I take this opportunity to congratulate and to formally welcome BASF and their President J. Dieter Stein to Worcester and to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF EMPOWERMENT IN HOUSING PROGRAMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak of an exciting concept in government, one that has come into vogue in certain quarters of our society but, unfortunately, not with the society as a whole, and that is the idea of empowerment, specifically empower-

ment concepts as applied to housing programs.

It is interesting to note the gentleman from Illinois' previous remarks regarding the Resolution Trust Corporation, because this program I am going to tell you a little bit about today involves a property previously owned by the Resolution Trust Corporation and held by the RTC in its portfolio for months before it was purchased by a private, for-profit company and converted into affordable housing for the working poor.

It is also interesting to note, in light of the gentleman's comments, that today's Wall Street Journal has a lengthy feature article regarding public housing in the inner city of Chicago, entitled "The Long Shadow of a Death in the City," that described in some detail the final days in the life of an 18-year-old youth who lived in an inner-city public housing project and the fact that he was not able, although he was a very optimistic youth who had a lot to look forward to in life, he was not able to overcome his circumstances, and his death was ultimately attributable, at least in part, to the hopelessness and despair of the inner city.

Empowerment is an idea, a philosophy which means bringing about a change in our low-income area, not through welfare programs, not through a continuation of the welfare society, but through opportunity and hope for a better future.

Currently, our system is weighted in favor of those who try not to get jobs, who try not to better themselves. The object of the game, with the existing system, is not to work but to work the system.

Meanwhile, this robbing of hope and pride cost the American taxpayers billions of dollars annually.

Empowerment is meant to encourage self-reliance and to provide opportunity to those most in need of that hand up. These people are good people, and they will respond to opportunity with responsibility.

At the same time, the empowerment concept is designed to limit the size and cost of government and it regards individuals as citizens, not clients. It intends to limit the ever-increasing size of our bureaucracy, of service providers whose very existence depends on treating citizens as clients and not as citizens.

The empowerment philosophy believes that if you give individuals the power to better themselves in their situations, they will, in fact, for the most part help themselves.

Empowerment can work if it is put into policy and carried out in programs. The Federal Government must try to foster enterprise zones, assist private companies and other industrious Americans in developing this market.

The empowerment philosophy is at the heart of the HUD housing program known as Home Ownership and Power for Americans, the HOPE Program that this body chose not to fund last week despite the fact—not to approve last week despite the fact that it is a revenue-neutral program. We must be very careful to create insightful legislation that encourages these sorts of activities.

This is a far different philosophy than the philosophy that brought you section 8 housing and welfare transfer payments.

With good intentions, we have destroyed hope in the depressed areas of America with these types of programs.

Now, the critics of the empowerment philosophy say that it cannot work, and I come to you today with a story of Chandler Development Corp., a small company, as I mentioned, the private, for-profit entity that is doing the things we are talking about today. They are operating without any Government support, and they are providing opportunity and helping to empower low-income families in Dallas, TX, to own their own homes in an area known as Southern Oaks Development. I have a few photographs on that development here today.

Empowerment can work, it can help us develop our Nation instead of spending our money on developing other nations.

If there was a Southern Oaks Development in every low-income area in this country, I know that we could begin reclaiming the vast poverty-stricken areas of America.

Now, the area in which Southern Oaks is located in Dallas looks like, a little bit like Beirut, full of vacant buildings, unkempt grounds, and closed stores. Going through these neighborhoods is quite unsettling for most of us, understandably, but many people live there and know it and call it home.

A section 8 low-cost housing development is nearby, almost adjacent to Southern Oaks. Three weeks ago someone rolled down their window, in a drug-related incident, and shot five children. Two of the children later died.

Southern Oaks was abandoned and in the mid-1980's and before being abandoned, it was the lowest level of housing in this country, with very high crime, drugs, pests, vermin, very worn-down, dilapidated housing. In short, a shelter, a haven for poverty and crime.

It was Government-sponsored section 8 housing.

Southern Oaks employees who live on the property and had been involved in the rehabilitation of this property have some insights to the area, to this area that most of us do not have.

They say, and I am quoting just a few of the employees, "Our low-income groups are in areas where they are downwardly mobile; the bad apples are

bringing down the standard of living for everyone; drugs and their sale in these areas attract the smart kids because it is the only economic opportunity that is real for them at a very tender age of life; the drugs also, unfortunately, attract violence and crime and steal the hope of the good folks and traps them ultimately into an unthinkable existence."

Now, I want to compare if I can, residents of the adjacent section 8 housing versus the Southern Oaks Development and see what they have to say, the residents of the public housing.

Shirley Taylor, who lives in unit 813 and also works as a salesperson there, says, "There was always loudness and violence over there," here old section 8 residence. "You would always be on the lookout because you didn't know what was going to happen next. I was scared to go out day or night."

"Here," she is speaking of Southern Oaks, she can rest at night.

Baby John, who is a young man you will see here when I get to the photos in just a few minutes, is 4 years old. He used to hear gunshots and see drug deals in a section 8 housing complex. How is that for first impressions in life?

His parents did not like it, but they could not afford to move out. Now they live in a very secure, new home that they own. They are participating in the American dream of homeownership and beginning to build home equity, which is the surest way to financial independence in our country.

Surrounded by neighbors who are also committed to the same ideal.

Now, here in the photos, and I know it is difficult for the audience and the gallery to see, there are articles about the success of this program from the Dallas Morning News and the Dallas Time Herald. It also shows the members of the Chandler development, who are as committed a group of entrepreneurs and small businessmen that I have had the pleasure to encounter in some time.

□ 1240

On the back side of this poster are, if I can use the term, the "before" photographs showing the dilapidated, extremely dilapidated, interior and exterior of the Southern Oaks development, and, at the very bottom, the renovated exterior of one of the units decorated, beautifully festooned with Christmas decorations, and lights and the holiday cheer, and the sense of pride and maintenance in home ownership that is reflected here is obvious.

The other poster shows more before photos of the interior renovation of one of the units, and at the very bottom is the final product, which is a modern, renovated kitchen with all the necessary appliances for convenient living, and on the back more photos of some of the units. They look very, very enjoy-

able, and then photographs, several of them, in fact, of Baby John enjoying his new home, and, from the smile on his face and from the flexing of his muscles here, one can see that he feels he is in a secure development.

Chandler development guts and totally rebuilds the units, and they are in the process of renovating the four units that were built in 1954 on 28 acres. They provide many standard features that we think of as being standard in new residential units, such as new appliances with a 5-year home warranty, individual security systems. The homes are totally renovated with new plumbing, and electricity, new walls, floors, and ceilings, and the occupant's choice of new carpet colors, tiles, cabinets, and even floor plan choices they had never had before. Because of its location the homes feature high security features, such as a security system that is directly hooked up to the local police department and security guards who patrol the premises at night. There has never been a crime against a Southern Oaks owners since it has been redeveloped because security and peace of mind are very important, not only to the developers and renovators of the property, but to the homeowners, and probably because, most importantly, they now feel and share a sense of community.

Chandler development has a capable staff. It is a new business owned and operated by a few dedicated individuals, including Paul Jost, a lawyer who attended Harvard Business School and got this wonderful idea to use unused real estate from the S&L crisis; going back to the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois regarding all the property, real property and otherwise, currently in the portfolio of the Resolution Trust Corporation. He got the idea to use these types of properties for homes for sale to low- and mid-income families. Mr. Jost researched and believed he could provide a high quality home for \$221 a month or \$25,000 for two units, and those are mortgage payments and purchase amounts that are far less than the annual expenditures on rent, and rent in public housing areas.

Southern Oaks is made up of Mr. Jost, Eric Fedewa, John Esposito, Marshall Piercy, all from the College of William and Mary here in Virginia, and a number of the residents include people that I have already mentioned, such as Shirley Taylor and Malcolm Watson. Mr. Fedewa, who is running sales, coordinating construction and presiding over homeowners meetings, also lives on the property, as a demonstration of his commitment to the successful renovation and conversion of Southern Oaks from public housing to, if I might use the term, "empowerment" housing. He says from the beginning we have set out to make a statement. Southern Oaks is a solu-

tion. It is at least a partial solution to the affordable housing dilemma in this country, the dilemma of providing affordable purchase and rental housing for the working poor and all those Americans who are just able to hang on by their fingernails. Our homeowners, who have never had a break in their lives, still are finding it hard to believe that there is not a catch to the program. They are taking their future into their own hands, taking control of their own destiny and fate, and that is what empowerment is about.

Another company official who lives on the property says there are a lot of good people, decent people, who just never had a chance to own property. Section 8 housing, such as the project next door, creates slums. That is guaranteeing the landlord he is going to get his money from the Government through the voucher system, and there is no incentive for him to keep the property up.

The other thing that Southern Oaks people are trying to do is they are trying to create, as I previously mentioned, and maintain a sense of community where everyone knows one another and cares about their homes through regular meetings and recreational opportunities involving members of the community. They are helping people, first-time home buyers obviously, begin to understand the responsibilities of home ownership, what it takes to maintain a residential unit, what it takes to find and secure credit, and they are helping these folks on an ongoing basis to begin to understand the responsibilities of home ownership.

The difference between this low- to middle-income development from others are two things: ownership obviously, and, secondly, ownership of a high quality unit. The customers must put money down, about \$1,250, for a two-bedroom unit and pay a monthly payment, but they realize this is their house, their mortgage payment, not a rental payment. They must qualify for a loan. There is no handout here. Their mortgage is a 30-year, fixed rate mortgage, so it will never change, giving them the economic power to have more disposable income as they increase their wages. They have a stake in the American dream of home ownership.

Mr. Speaker, the units are high quality places, which is very important because the residents are handed the keys to a new home, a brand-new, spanking clean, made-to-order home that they can have pride in.

Southern Oaks is providing opportunity. The opportunity shows a change in the people who live there. They have meetings often where the residents discuss the security, upkeep and pride of their homes and community, and it fosters a sense of voluntarism.

Owners are very clear on the benefits of low-crime, well-kept; attractive



housing. They know they can receive appreciation and equity if they have a community that is in high demand, and, as I mentioned, home equity is the proven, historically proven, way to financial independence and financial security in this country.

The homes provide ownership of new homes with a high degree of quality for less per month than the terrible section 8 units next door. Mr. Fedewa says:

I was here at Southern Oaks over the Christmas holidays, and, when you finish showing these people these beautiful homes, and you tell them that they can really own them, they react very emotionally.

He says, and I quote:

I felt like Santa Claus at Christmastime.

There are problems that Southern Oaks has had to overcome to provide their product to their customers. As we have already stated, there has been no Government support of any kind. If anything, the Government has made things harder. The acquisition of property from the Resolution Trust Corporation was very low. It took about 10 months and involved lots of redtape. In order to get investors to co-own the development company doing the project, Chandler could not offer the type of tax benefits that low-cost rental properties used to have. There are, frankly at the present time, no investment incentives for ownership of multifamily properties in our tax codes, and there should be. It was hard to acquire financing for Southern Oaks buyers because they are not people with large bank accounts or significant credit history. They went to many different banks until the North Carolina National Bank mortgage department finally gave the buyers of Southern Oaks a chance. But the FHA and VA approval have eluded Southern Oaks from the very beginning of this project, and that is unfortunate. FHA is important because it can decrease the downpayment from 5 percent or \$1,250 to 3 percent. This makes the units even more affordable. Right now they have been taking their downpayments in installments of \$50 until the whole amount is received. VA approval is extremely important, especially now because it can insure the opportunity of beautiful homes for men and women in uniform who are returning from Desert Shield.

□ 1250

But the Veterans' Administration people say they "don't do condos."

Southern Oaks has experienced a tremendous response, but unfortunately, due to problems of low-income people raising the money necessary for a downpayment and credit payments and plain old lack of confidence, they have only been able to sell 3 or 4 units out of every 100 inquiries by prospective buyers. This is an outstanding project, and it is just one small example of the type of empowerment housing programs

that could literally start up all across this Nation. The idea behind empowerment is to create opportunity for low-income people, and that is fundamental to democracy. Our effort now in promoting this program is to illustrate that through empowerment we can have a more ideal democracy in this country where there is truly social and economic and financial opportunity and empowerment for all people, social and economic democracy for all people.

The Congress will be voting in the next few days on continuing funding for the Resolution Trust Corporation, and it is my hope that we will instruct the Resolution Trust Corporation to streamline the redtape associated with projects such as Southern Oaks, and it is my hope that in the very near future we will revisit the idea of empowerment programs. It is very high on the agenda at HUD. Secretary Kemp has traveled across this country promoting this program, particularly in the inner cities, and the response he has received has been overwhelming.

It frankly strikes me as amazing that during the debate last week there were actually Members of this House who seem willing to defend the way we currently finance and maintain public housing. Public housing, particularly in our inner cities, is a disgrace. It is a national disgrace, and it ranks up there with our other social ills such as illiteracy, poverty, and homelessness. It is time that we abandon the old notion about providing people with housing as something they would simply maintain and use to eke out an existence. Instead, we need to get on with the job of converting these public housing units in America and get on with the job of making the American dream of home ownership more widely available to Americans of all backgrounds, particularly those who are unrepresented in society and who represent the most disadvantaged and needy among us.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. RIGGS) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, for 60 minutes each day, on March 19, 20, and 21.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DARDEN) to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey, for 5 minutes, on March 13.

Mr. THOMAS of Georgia, for 60 minutes, on March 20.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DARDEN) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. ANDERSON, in 10 instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ, in 10 instances.

Mr. BROWN, in 10 instances.

Mr. ANNUNZIO, in six instances.

Mr. McMILLEN of Maryland.

Mr. MILLER of California.

Mr. SWETT, in two instances.

#### ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. ROSE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.J. Res. 98. Joint resolution designating March 4 through 10, 1991, as "National School Breakfast Week."

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. RIGGS, Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 54 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, March 12, 1991, at 12 noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speakers table and referred as follows:

818. A letter from the Chief, Special Actions Branch, Congressional Inquiry Division, Department of the Army, transmitting a report that a cost-comparison study of the visual information services function at Fort Riley, KS, resulted in a lower in-house cost estimate than that of the private sector, pursuant to Public Law 100-463, section 8061 (102 Stat. 2270-27); to the Committee on Armed Services.

819. A letter from the President and Chairman, Export-Import Bank of the United States, transmitting a report involving U.S. exports to Israel, pursuant to 12 U.S.C. 635(b)(3)(i); to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

820. A letter from the President and Chairman, Export-Import Bank of the United States, transmitting a report involving U.S. exports to Israel, pursuant to 12 U.S.C. 635(b)(3)(i); to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

821. A letter from the President and Chairman, Export-Import Bank of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

822. A letter from the Chairman, Interagency Council on the Homeless, transmitting the 1990 annual report of the Inter-

agency Council on the Homeless, pursuant to Public Law 100-77, section 203(c)(1)(2); to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

823. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Education, transmitting a notice of fiscal funding priorities for the Upward Bound and Talent Search Programs for fiscal year 1991, pursuant to 20 U.S.C. 1232(d)(1); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

824. A letter from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting a report on correction and reduction plans for intermediate care facilities for the mentally retarded, and the current status of those plans, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 1396r note; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

825. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel, Department of Energy, transmitting a notification of a meeting of the Industry Advisory Board to the International Energy Agency to be held on March 5, 1991, in Paris, France; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

826. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting notification of a proposed license for the export of major defense equipment sold commercially to the Republic of Korea (Transmittal No. DTC-24-90), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

827. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting his determination that continued nuclear cooperation with the European Atomic Energy Community [EURATOM] is needed in order to achieve U.S. nonproliferation objectives and to protect our common defense and security, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 2155(a)(2) (H. Doc. 102-56); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

828. A letter from the Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting a report on its activities under the Freedom of Information Act for calendar year 1990, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552(d); to the Committee on Government Operations.

829. A letter from the Secretary, Commission of Fine Arts, transmitting a report of the agency's compliance with the requirements of the internal accounting and administrative control system, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 3512(c)(3); to the Committee on Government Operations.

830. A letter from the Chairman, Consumer Product Safety Commission, transmitting a report on its activities under the Freedom of Information Act for calendar year 1990, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552(d); to the Committee on Government Operations.

831. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Policy, Management and Budget, Department of the Interior, transmitting a report on its activities under the Freedom of Information Act for calendar year 1990, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552(d); to the Committee on Government Operations.

832. A letter from the Office of Administration, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a report on its activities under the Freedom of Information Act for calendar year 1990, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552(d); to the Committee on Government Operations.

833. A letter from the Chairman, National Transportation Safety Board, transmitting a copy of the annual report in compliance with the Government in the Sunshine Act during the calendar year 1990, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552b(j); to the Committee on Government Operations.

834. A letter from the Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting a report on its activities under the Freedom of

Information Act for calendar year 1990, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552(d); to the Committee on Government Operations.

835. A letter from the Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting a report of actions taken to increase competition for contracts during fiscal year 1990, pursuant to 41 U.S.C. 419; to the Committee on Government Operations.

836. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting a report on its activities under the Freedom of Information Act for calendar year 1990, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552(d); to the Committee on Government Operations.

837. A letter from the Deputy Associate Director for Collection and Disbursement, Department of the Interior, transmitting notice of proposed refunds of excess royalty payments in OCS areas, pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1339(b); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

838. A letter from the Deputy Associate Director for Collection and Disbursement, Department of the Interior, transmitting notice of proposed refunds of excess royalty payments in OCS areas, pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1339(b); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

839. A letter from the Deputy Associate Director for Collection and Disbursement, Department of the Interior, transmitting notice of proposed refunds of excess royalty payments in OCS areas, pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1339(b); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

840. A letter from the Acting Under Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting the report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for the period October through December 1990 (fiscal year 1991), pursuant to 15 U.S.C. 639(d); to the Committee on Small Business.

841. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of the Treasury, transmitting amendments to the Kuwait assets control regulations authorizing U.S. persons to engage in trade and commerce with, and to travel to Kuwait, pursuant to Public Law 101-513, section 586(c)(1); jointly, to the Committee on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs.

842. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting his findings that substantial progress has been made in telecommunications trade talks conducted under section 1375 of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, pursuant to Public Law 100-418, section 1376(c)(2)(B) (102 Stat. 1221) (H. Doc. No. 102-57); jointly, to the Committee on Ways and Means and Energy and Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DOWNEY (for himself, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mr. PEASE, and Mr. MATSUI):

H.R. 1367. A bill to provide a program of Federal supplemental compensation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DARDEN:

H.R. 1368. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to remove the limitation upon the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiv-

ing benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MICHEL:

H. Res. 109. Resolution electing Representative Upton of Michigan to the Committee on Energy and Commerce; considered and agreed to.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

26. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Colorado, relative to the Bill of Rights; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 213: Mr. KOPETSKI.

H.R. 357: Mrs. LOWEY of New York.

H.R. 371: Mr. OWENS of Utah.

H.R. 559: Mr. NEAL of North Carolina and Mr. BONIOR.

H.R. 601: Mr. BORSKI, Mr. ANNUNZIO, and Mr. ROE.

H.R. 680: Mr. HORTON, Mr. KYL, Mr. STARK, Mr. HERGER, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. OXLEY, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. PAXON, Mr. LAGOMARSINO, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. DANNEMEYER, Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. DAVIS, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. FISH, and Mr. FIELDS.

H.R. 739: Mr. EDWARDS of Oklahoma, Ms. KAPTUR, and Mr. LANCASTER.

H.R. 1177: Mr. SIKORSKI.

H.R. 1285: Mr. COLEMAN of Missouri, Mr. HAYES of Illinois, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey, Mrs. UNSOELD, Mr. WASHINGTON, Mrs. MINK, Mr. KILDEE, Mrs. LOWEY of New York, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. REED, Mr. PERKINS, Mr. PETRI, Mr. BARRETT, and Mr. GORDON.

H.R. 1300: Mr. CONYERS, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, and Mr. ABERCROMBIE.

H.J. Res. 66: Mr. BONIOR, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. FISH, Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. McMILLEN of Maryland, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. WELDON, Mr. CALLAHAN, Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. MARTIN, Mr. IRELAND, Mr. MURPHY, Ms. LONG, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. LEWIS of California, Ms. HORN, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. HOYER, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. NEAL of North Carolina, Mr. KASICH, Mr. BREWSTER, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. MAZZOLI, Ms. NORTON, Mr. MCDADE, Mr. BARNARD, Mr. LEWIS of Florida, Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. FAZIO, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. ESPY, Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. GREEN of New York, Mr. GALLO, Mr. HUBBARD, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. COYNE, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. DARDEN, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. LARROCCO, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. LEVINE of California, Mrs. PATTERSON, Mr. LAFALCE, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. PACKARD, and Mr. HUTTO.

H.J. Res. 67: Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. ERDREICH, Mr. SERRANO, Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas, Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York, Mr. McMILLEN of Maryland, Mr. ENGEL, Ms. LONG, Mr. GALLO, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. SPENCE, and Mr. HUTTO.

H.J. Res. 152: Mr. HUGHES, Mr. ENGEL, Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. JONTZ, Mrs. LOWEY of New York, Mr. CARDIN,



Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. COYNE, Mr. DWYER of New Jersey, Mr. KASICH, Mr. WOLF, and Mr. STUDDS.

H.J. Res. 171: Mr. SANGMEISTER, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. ERDREICH, Ms. PELOSI, Ms.

SLAUGHTER of New York, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. MACHTLEY, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. MCEWEN, and Mr. ESPY.

H. Con. Res. 38: Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. BONIOR, and Mr. LEWIS of Georgia.

H. Con. Res. 67: Mrs. LOWEY of New York, Mr. OWENS of Utah, and Mr. JOHNSTON of Florida.